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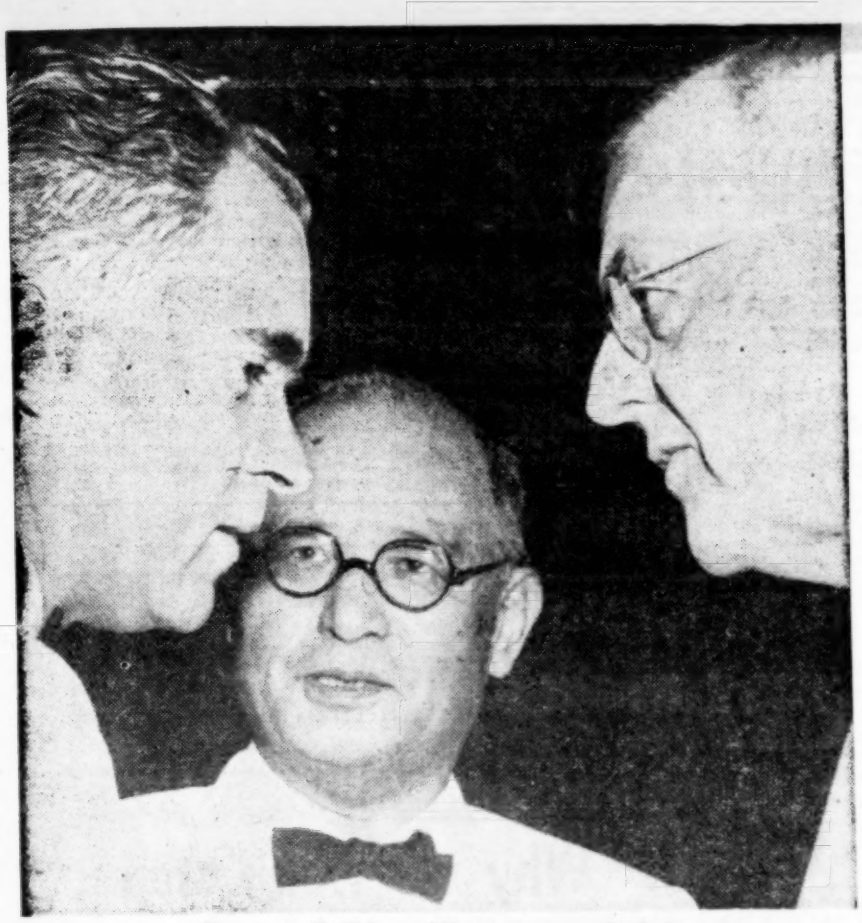

They call this a Western sandwich

Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, shown between Vice President Nixon and Secy. Dulles, has departed our shores after a visit in which he tried to tell Washington tactfully that unless U. S. troops got out, there'd be trouble in Japan. Of course it didn't come out like that in the press but that's the nub of it. What Washington told him has not seen the light of day.

WAR & PEACE

Washington works overtime to dispel Geneva Spirit and bar real arms cut

By Tabitha Petran

THE EXCHANGE VISITS of the American and Soviet farm delegations were so successful and so popular that proposals for more such East-West exchanges have been pouring into the State Dept. from "just about everybody but the Boy Scouts," a high-ranking department official reported. Abroad, pressures for a cold war armistice were even heavier.

In face of this gathering peace momentum, Washington stepped up what the N. Y. **Post** (8/31) called "its frantic efforts to dispel the euphoric hangover of the Geneva spirit." The President's Aug. 25 speech in Philadelphia, and Vice President Nixon's provocative demands on Moscow for almost everything but redemption of the Tsarist bonds, were only the first shots, said Washington reports, in a developing campaign against the "false" peace.

DO NOT OPEN UNTIL . . .: A "hold for October" label had already been put on virtually all major proposals for further easing of East-West tensions. (Oct. 27 is the date for the opening of the Big 4 foreign ministers conference in Geneva.) Persistent French government efforts for a pre-October review of East-West trade policy were squelched quietly—but not without difficulty—by the State Dept. Secy. Dulles maintained pressure on Washington's allies for an adamant stand on German reunification at the October talks; with the W. German government he mapped a joint "tough" strategy for Geneva and the Moscow visit of Bonn Chancellor Adenauer.

Washington's problem, the **Wall St. Journal** explained (8/31), is "how to keep peace from busting out all over" —before it has secured settlement of "the big cold war issues" on its terms. This problem has put "the U. S. . . . in the difficult position of a man trying to smile and frown at the same

(Continued on Page 3)

12 PAGES NEXT WEEK

Beginning with next week's issue the GUARDIAN will regularly have 12 pages again, after a summer season of 8-page issues.

Is Peron paving the way for army dictatorship?

By Elmer Bendiner

JUAN PERON stepped out on the balcony of the Casa Rosada in Buenos Aires last week and gave the most bloodthirsty speech in his ten years of public fire-eating. He told 100,000 wildly-demonstrating Argentines in the Plaza de Mayo:

> "He who in any place tries to disturb order in opposition to the constituted authorities or contrary to the law or the Constitution may be slain by any Argentine. . . . And when one of our people falls, five of them will fall . . . this fight will not end until we have annihilated and wiped them out . . . our nation must have peace and tranquility to work. That must be done with persuasion, and if not, then with clubs."

Peron was vague about whose blood he was calling for. He identified the enemy as "the oligarchy," a term for the universally hated cattle barons of the pampas. Though Peron called on the people to fight in the streets, they would be unlikely to come across an "oligarch." Peron made no mention of the military, the Church, or Yankee imperialism as the enemy, or on the other hand, of the "communists."

BUSY AMBASSADOR: The puzzle began with the curious end of the Admirals' putsch last June 16, in which the putschists seemed to have lost on the battlefield and won in the back rooms. Details of that coup are only now coming to light. The September **Monthly Review** reports, on the authority of "a group of left-wing observers in Argentina," that at 11 a.m. on June 16 the U. S. Ambassador Albert F. Nufer went to the Casa Rosada for an urgent talk with Peron. When it was over Peron left the building. The first bombs fell on thousands of trade unionists in the Plaza at 12:30 p.m. The Casa Rosada was hit and Peron's escape termed "miraculous."

The **Monthly Review's** informants add:

> "Nufer was aware of the plot and was in contact with the navy. At the last minute he decided to play a more subtle game than the mere physical elimination of Peron. In agreement with Peron, and with Gen. Lucero who was also a participant in the plot, Nufer decided not to yield to the revolutionaries but to make a deal with them. Peron would remain as nominal head of the government, but he would be under orders of a military group. . . ."

SPARROWS AND SERENITY: With the enemy showering bombs, Peron reined in the Peronistas, refused to call on the General Confederation of Labor which twice before had saved him from military coups. With the enemy plainly in sight Peron told the unionists that any show of labor's strength would be like "wasting gunpowder on sparrows."

(Continued on Page 7)

A trussed-up body in a rain-swollen stream

By Eugene Gordon

IN CHICAGO a few weeks ago Mrs. Mamie Bradley kissed her 15-year-old son Emmett Louis Till goodbye and sent him on a two-week vacation with relatives near the hamlet of Money, Miss.

On Aug. 20 she got a phone call from a boy who had accompanied Emmett saying her son was "gone." Two white men had called at his uncle's house that day and taken him away. Inquiries from Chicago and New York brought no satisfactory answer. County Sheriff H. C. Strider told the N. Y. **Post** by phone last week that he would try to find the boy "if it ever lets up raining."

But it was a 17-year-old who found Emmett. Trolling for fish in the Tallahatchie River, he caught his line in the beaten, trussed-up body lodged against driftwood in the rain-swollen stream. Strider told the **Post:**

> "We're just waiting until the inquest determines that he died in our county, as we are sure he did. As soon as that's official, we're going to charge those men with murder."

THE "OFFENSE": "Those men" are Roy Bryant of Money, and his half-brother, J. W. Milan of Glendora. They are said to have admitted kidnaping Emmett. They accused him of "wolf-whistling" after leaving the country store where Bryant's 25-year-old "good-looking" wife had waited on him and a group of teen-aged Negro friends. The woman is alleged to have "disappeared"; local police are purportedly looking for her.

Sheriff Strider said that "the white people around here feel pretty mad about the way" Emmett was beaten, shot, tied up with barbed wire, and dumped into the river with a 150-pound iron pulley from a cotton gin weighting him down. Emmett's mother in Chicago said:

> "I can't think. I just can't think. I'm frozen. But I know this! I know somebody is going to pay!"

She is an office worker for the Air Force. Emmett was her son by a former marriage. The NAACP, branding the murder "a new form of lynching," offered its aid to Mrs. Bradley.

On Sept. 1 Gov. White wired the NAACP: "Parties charged with the murder are in jail." Sensitive to the NAACP charge, the governor told newsmen: "This is not a lynching; it's a straight-out murder."

Even as 50,000 angry Chicago mourners viewed the schoolboy's mutilated body, Mississippi authorities were alternately promising speedy and thorough investigation and expressing doubt that the alleged lynchers would be indicted. **UP** reported that "the boy's slaying has touched off reaction the world over."

THIRD LYNCHING: The Till lynching was the third in Mississippi in recent months. Negro Baptist minister Walter G. Lee was shot to death in Belzoni in May following efforts to get Negroes to vote. Lamar Smith two weeks ago was shot dead in Brookhaven for a similar "offense." Local authorities have shown no desire to punish the murderers; the FBI will not act without proof that the murder victims' civil liberties were "violated."

"Racial tensions are mounting in Mississippi," wrote **AP** correspondent Bem Price from Jackson, Miss., Aug. 20, "like a sullen summer haze over a parched cotton field."

WHITE COUNCILS: Mississippi boasted in 1950 of the "highest percentage—88.5—of native-born population in the U. S." and a reserve of "contented" white labor (as an inducement to Northern industries). Virtually a vast plantation with only isolated spots industrialized, it began last year organizing its wealthiest men and women into "White Citizens Councils" to fight the U.S. Supreme Court decree outlawing jimcrow public schools. The rebellion is led openly by Gov. Hugh White, Gov.-Elect J. P. Coleman, and what the NAACP calls "the best white people."

Only the Negroes—with a small group of white men, including Nobel Prize winner William Faulkner—oppose the councils. Against them, as Price pointed out, is pitted "the entire legislative and administrative machinery of the state."

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THE MAIL BAG

Geneva dispirited

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Dear Mr. President: Congratulations! Your American Bar Assn. address was a classic—in immaturology—and if the monkeys off on other planes don't like it, let 'em wag their tails—we can lick them with our tails tied behind our backs. You had us going there for a bit; we thought you had gone chicken. **Patrick McDonough**

Disaster insurance

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Something must be wrong with the $20 billion insurance industry. The recent floods have wiped out countless numbers financially.

One can be insured and insured and insured, and yet when catastrophes like floods, severe sickness or accident strike a family, these people find their insurance not insurance.

What we need is a complete comprehensive insurance coverage for each and everyone, to be borne by our U. S. Government. Some might call this creeping socialism; really it is purely for survival, in the name of humanity.

Harry Fries

Bringing it home

COURTENAY, B. C.

We agree with all you write about Cedric Belfrage, and share your anger at the disgraceful deportation. Perhaps, though, his editorship-in-exile will serve to bring home to both Americans and British just what sort of a "free world" they have been tacitly supporting with their indifference.

We shall continue to boost the GUARDIAN to our friends and may the turning tide sweep away all fascist legislation and bring back sanity and decency to American political life. **Hilary Brown**

Advice to Democrats

SANTA CRUZ, CALIF.

One thing history has proved is that no party can slip in on their cupidity, cuteness and by merely being good little agreeable boys. Dewey tried it in 1948—Stevenson tried this in 1952. What a far cry was the Democratic candidate of 1952 to the Franklin D. Roosevelt of 1932-36-40-44.

Then we come to the little jingo Truman, who cremated thousands at Hiroshima—needlessly repeated the guinea pig test at Nagasaki—forfeited America's doctrine of nonmeddling in foreign affairs—lost our position as mediator between Russia and British imperialism—had the decadent imperialism of Britain palmed off on America—played footsie with Franco—gave Romanism almost a stranglehold on the U. S.—lost America's first war in Korea—today stands before the world as the greatest living killer of humanity in Japan and Korea—dealt the Democratic Party a death blow in 1952 and seems designed to add insult to injury in 1956.

In the Democratic ranks there are still a few men of courage—Morse, Fulbright, Kefauver. Is the Democratic Party to stand aside, tongue in cheek, and trembling at the ghost of McCarthy and let the Republicans pose as the party of peace? President Eisenhower, Sen. Flanders and Harry Cain have seen the light.

Jack A. Pepper,
Disabled Vet of 3 Wars

Whig deep

HUTCHINSON, KANS.

Since there have been so many investigations in the past 10 or 12 years by the witch-hunters, I would like very much to have a thorough investigation of:

- The Republican Party.
- The Democratic Party.
- The U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

I would like to have the two old parties buried as deep as the Whigs were in 1854. I am for peace among all nations. **L. U. Keckler**

Troops and sauce

CHICAGO, ILL.

In April, 1954, and subsequently, U. S. congressmen criticized India. As recently as June 29, 1955, in the debate in the House on the bill authorizing foreign aid, Rep. Fino (N. Y.) asked, "How can we forget that during the crisis in Indo-China, India refused to permit American planes carrying desperately needed French troop reinforcements to fly over India?" (**Congressional Record**, June 29, 1955, p. 8134).

Last week, newspapers in France criticized U. S. aviation officers. They refused to let French planes land at U. S. air bases in Morocco. These planes were carrying French troop reinforcements to crush the uprising in Morocco.

What's sauce for the goose can be sauce for the gander, too.

Albert Bofman

Don't promise me!

LEXINGTON, KY.

An AP news item of Aug. 20 relates an incident about a wedding ring seized by the police immediately after the wedding ceremony because the ring had been purchased with a forged check. This tends to place modern marriage in the phony category in which it belongs. Marriage is a racket, and it is incredible that it is not apparent to more people. Some people even profess to believe that "marriages are made in heaven," even though many are made by a justice of the peace or magistrate for a fee of $3 or so.

The majority of the people of the world are so naive and gullible that they will believe almost anything—yes, even that the moon is made of green cheese. Why not? They believe many things just as illogical, such as kings and queens, and that they will receive their "rewards" in heaven and other such bunk. People will be exploited by the powers that be as long as they believe the "pie in the sky" balderdash. **R. L. Zimmerman**

For Nat Nissel

ROSEMEAD, CALIF.

Enclosed find check for $25 for the GUARDIAN as a result of a great tragedy that occurred in our area recently. A very wonderful young man, age 14, the only child of Mr. and Mrs. Eli Nissel, was killed while returning home on his bicycle from a scout meeting, by a member of the local police force, who had admitted he had been drinking. This was a terrible shock to the community and to us personally, as we were very well acquainted with the Nissel family.

Through the efforts of a neighbor of theirs, this $25 was collected. This neighbor would like very much for the GUARDIAN to have the money in memory of Nat Nissel.

Dorothy & Aaron Braude

Salt of the earth

PLAINS, MONT.

About a year ago I promised to send you some money but I just could not. I only make about enough to buy groceries; just got a few days' work and am sending $10. Will send more later if I can. Would hate to lose the GUARDIAN.

Jack Hill

How crazy can you get dept.

It is worldly, it is practical, it is convenient to confess to the existence of a government called the People's Republic of China. Any nation which cares to do so should be so allowed.

But this time let's be "different" here in America. Let's not be ashamed of being motivated by our inner feelings rather than by the wishes and opinions of the neighbors. We should, in solemn truth, snub the "uncivilized" government. We should make a bold effort to treat Red China with the social hauteur as if she didn't exist.

—Holmes Alexander in the Los Angeles Times, 8/16.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Ruth P. Koshuk, Lakewood, Calif.

Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Darling, I know I'm most terribly silly, but just why are we all so mad keen on a reunited Germany?"

Let's stop ducking

WORCESTER, MASS.

I would like to feel sure that Mrs. Grace E. James of Los Angeles (Mailbag, Aug. 22) receives the GUARDIAN for another year and so I enclose $3 in her behalf.

Second, I would like for C. C. Welker of Wapakoneta, O., to know he is a man after my own heart. We have turned our cheeks now until they are bloody and torn, although there is no reason for us to lose our heads. But we can't go on forever ducking every foul and dirty blow without throwing out a defensive arm and letting it smash right on through to a few sore spots if necessary. I sincerely believe it is. **Frank Martin**

Coonskin capitalism

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

It is no secret that the ruling oligarchy of this country goes in for astrology, ouija boards, and incantations to postpone the Day of Reckoning. Consider this juicy morsel in the **Business Bulletin** published by the Cleveland Trust Co. on Aug. 16, 1955: "Retail sales thus far in 1955 have been running well ahead of last year. They have been stimulated by the rise in total personal income, attractive new model automobiles in many colors, and Davy Crockett."

Morris Kominsky

It tells why

PAHOKEE, FLA.

When you have read Steve Nelson's **The 13th Juror** you do not wonder why the rest of the world looks upon American "justice" as rotten. **R. E. Boe**

Very good alibi

PORTLAND, ORE.

Excuse, please, for being behind in my subscription. I am 88 and have been pretty busy of late. Represented Typo. No. 58 as one of the delegates to the State Federation of Labor convention and other matters, which perhaps is as good an alibi as any I could think of.

Personal service

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

What would be my sub rate for two or three copies of the GUARDIAN wrapped together with my regular sub? While the "climate of fear" persists there are still those who would read the GUARDIAN regularly if someone were to bring it to them outside of the U. S. mail. **M. K.**

Excellent suggestion, reader M. K. Extra copies of the GUARDIAN may be had at the rate of $2 per sub for one year. Thus an extra bundle of three would cost $6 for 1 year, or $3 for 6 months. Ed.

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"The genius of the United States is not best or most in its executives or legislators, nor in its ambassadors or authors or colleges or churches or parlors, nor even in its newspapers or inventors — but always most in the common people." — WALT WHITMAN (Preface, 1855 edition, "Leaves of Grass.")

REPORT TO READERS

Why we won't stop

In Wilmington, Del., Kenneth A. Horner edits and publishes a community weekly in the heart of the DuPont empire called the Wilmington "Suburban News." Last month the paper printed an editorial entitled "Another Administration Blunder" which sums up the Belfrage Case and the GUARDIAN's role in cold-war America in the clearest way. The most striking thing about the editorial is its understanding of what makes the GUARDIAN possible—the most loyal family of readers that any publication was ever blessed with. We reprint the editorial below and add only: May the tribe increase.

THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT has committed another blunder. It has deported Cedric Belfrage, editor of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a weekly paper of wide circulation throughout this and foreign countries. The press of America, as usual, has refrained from mentioning both his persecution—he had been hounded for 2½ years—and his deportation. For the past three months, while appealing the order, he had been held in the Federal Detention Prison and had to wage a hunger strike to win the bare privileges accorded criminals, although there had been no charges pressed against him.

Only two papers in the United States, the N. Y. **Times** and the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, spoke out editorially against his imprisonment, although neither protested against the injustice of the deportation, or its significance to the freedom of the press.

The GUARDIAN, since its incorporation nearly eight years ago, following the formation of the Progressive Party, whose mouthpiece it became, has been an uncompromising foe of the cold war, militarism, segregation, McCarthyism, monopoly, and other evils, while championing the rights of the minorities, labor, the farmer, small business, and the non-conformists. It was bitterly opposed to the Korean War, fought for the release of the Rosenbergs, whom it contended were innocent victims of fear and hysteria, secured a new trial and the ultimate release of the Trenton Six, and over the years has fought for peace and the rights of the underprivileged. It is probably the outstanding paper among a small group of liberal weeklies and monthlies now being published.

The deportation of Belfrage is the latest in a long line of stupidities chargeable against the Justice Department and the Bureau of Immigration. That it will have world-wide repercussions goes without saying. Critics of this country will use it to point out the incompetence and instability of our leaders, and how unimportant they hold our Bill of Rights.

The deportation of Belfrage will not stop the GUARDIAN of course. Belfrage will remain as editor although exiled in England. James Aronson will remain as executive editor, and John T. McManus will continue as general manager. Other members of the staff, such as Elmer Bendiner, Tabitha Petran, Lawrence Emery, will remain. All promise a continuation of the policies which have made "the readers of the GUARDIAN the largest and best informed nucleus of the nation to challenge the present day Alien and Sedition Laws."

The staff will have the support of the thousands of loyal readers who make publishing the paper possible. With little if any financial backing and dependent almost entirely on subscriptions and a small bit of advertising, the paper must make almost weekly appeals for funds. However, it lists among its readers many hundreds who have pledged themselves to contribute $1 or more a month. In many parts of the country, subscribers hold parties, dinners, picnics, and various forms of entertainment, sending the proceeds to the paper to help keep it going.

We in Oregon will have a Herculean job on our hands in re-electing Wayne Morse to the Senate as the Cadillac boys will do everything in their power to defeat him and other progressive legislators.

Wm. F. Englefried

Undying spirit

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed check for $5 is sent for Elizabeth Rindal (92½ years old) as a last contribution, as you can well imagine. Her hearing has completely failed and now her eyes are going very fast. She no longer can see to read and so wishes to make this last gesture of her undying love and devotion to the cause of freedom.

Elizabeth Rindal
(per B. K. L.)

GENEVA SPOKE THE HOPE OF THE WORLD

Threshold of the atomic revolution

By Kumar Goshal

THE GENEVA atoms-for-peace conference last month disclosed a vision of the future which was largely lost in the routine reporting of the event. It was a vision which many men now in power would rather not contemplate because its full fruition would so change the relation of man to the world he inhabits that their power would vanish. The Geneva conference revealed man at the threshold of the greatest revolution the world has ever known.

The mastery of the secret of the atom, wisely applied, contains the solution to most of the physical evils that have plagued humans since the beginning of history. It can conquer space and time; it can cure incurable diseases; it can make deserts bloom; it can transform agriculture as it is now known; it can leap centuries by putting "backward" countries on a level with the most advanced; it can make all mankind secure with a full abundance of all he needs for as far into the future as can be foreseen. Or it can shatter the planet. Geneva posed this question for the world: shall man's age-old dream of mastering nature at last come true, or shall he destroy himself?

PACKAGED POWER: For the scientists at Geneva the answer was clear; to a man they were appalled at the power of destruction they can now command. Their concern was the use of their new knowledge for peaceful pursuits. Mostly they applied themselves to the most immediate problems.

Of these, perhaps the most important is the fact that from now on it will be difficult for Western capitalist powers to prevent Asians, Africans and Latin Americans from industrializing their countries and cease being suppliers of raw materials and serving as markets for finished products made elsewhere. A study prepared by Wisconsin Public Service Corp. vice-president Harry Miller for the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission pointed out that nuclear fuel, now nearing practical application, is "exceedingly small" in both weight and volume and therefore surmounts the geographical problem of centering an industry near an available power supply. Papers read by delegates from under-developed countries emphasized this theme, and Asians particularly pressed a demand for "packaged" atom-power reactors that can be shipped in "kit" form and reassembled and set up anywhere.

OLD SOURCES RUNNING OUT: Many Western nations themselves will need power from nuclear fuel within a short time. The study prepared for the A.E.C. showed that Europe's coal and oil resources for growing power needs will be exhausted in 30 years or less. Austria, Denmark, Portugal and Italy will have used up all their coal before 1980. Between 1962 and 1975, exploitation of hydro-electric power will have reached its maximum in Germany, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, France, Spain and Italy. Britain is running out of coal—and men willing to mine coal.

Europe is turning definitely to nuclear fuel for electricity. Sir John Cockroft reported that the 17 nuclear power stations Britain has planned by 1975 would provide "about 40% of the energy for electricity," and that probably all additional energy beyond 1975 requirements "will have to come from nuclear sources." By 1959, France plans to have three power reactors of 50,000, 60,000, and 70,000 kilowatts capacity. By 1975, Canada expects half of its thermal electricity to come from nuclear power plants.

Minneapolis Tribune

THE DIGGERS

NEW WONDERS: Radioactive isotopes —elements created in the atomic pile that emit X-ray or high-speed electrons—are already in use in industry, medicine and agriculture. A.E.C. member Dr. Libby said that the world has saved perhaps a billion dollars through the use of radioactive isotopes in the last ten years.

More than 1,200 U. S. companies have been using radio-isotopes in their business to save some $100,000,000 a year. They are used, for example, to inspect metal, trace liquid flow, measure thickness, check the life of automobile tires.

Remarkable results have been achieved in medicine through the use of radio-isotopes in the U. S., the Soviet Union, Switzerland and other countries. Dr. J. H. Muller of the Zurich University's women's clinic has successfully treated cancer and allied diseases with radioactive gold or zinc. Soviet physicians have successfully used radioactive materials for treating a variety of diseases. Radioactive treatment has cured patients of malignant tumors that seemed incurable by other means.

FOOD FOR ALL: About the use of radio-isotopes in agriculture, it was reported that grains can be made to meet the requirements of mechanical farming or caused to grow so fast that crops can be grown in the Arctic in spite of short summers and limited sun. Plants can be made to resist disease, and climatic conditions can be overcome.

Minneapolis Tribune

Indifferent? Maybe he's just scared stiff!

It is generally agreed that the exploitation of atomic power for peaceful uses will create a huge new industry within the next few years and the world market for power plants will be immense. Will there be cut-throat competition for markets and attempts by Western capitalist powers to secure political and economic concessions in return for reactors?

HAS THE WORLD LEARNED? There is already a battle in the U.S. between private and public control of existing power sources; on the international level there is a struggle between industrialists and financiers for domination of the world markets to be opened up by use of nuclear power; and there are fierce rivalries between oil and coal interests and the new atom-power interests.

The advent of nuclear power will dwarf the industrial revolution precipitated by steam power in the 18th century. The question for the world is whether this 20th century revolution will repeat the misery and chaos, the social and political conflicts that came with the 18th century industrial revolution, or if enough has been learned to avoid the mistakes of the past.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

time." The **Christian Science Monitor** (8/29) also underlined the "delicate" nature of Washington's offensive against the Geneva spirit. Recognizing that Washington is impelled by the fact that "time is not necessarily on the side of the West," it nonetheless warned that the Administration "may actually be moving too abruptly and too soon after Geneva."

COMING AND GOING: Washington's dilemma was plain. Worldwide revulsion to Western war moves last winter (NATO decision to rely on nuclear weapons, ratification of W. German rearmament, Formosa preventive war resolution) and growing worldwide support for socialist moves to relax tension (Austria, Yugoslavia, Bandung, disarmament concessions) seemed last spring to threaten near disaster for Western policy. Washington's answer to these mounting pressures was the change of tactics displayed by the President at Geneva. But the new tactics opened the way for even greater expression of the demand for peace, and strengthened the forces for peace. These forces in turn now are undermining the cold war.

Geneva, Walter Lippmann has pointed out, (8/30), represented a recognition of "military stalemate [which] has, and will go on having, far reaching consequences." But Washington has yet to face, much less accept, these consequences, as Lippmann emphasized in a strong criticism of the Administration's post-Geneva policy. (This was reprinted in the Soviet press as the U. S. S. R.'s chief comment on the Eisenhower and Nixon speeches.)

DOWN TO EARTH: Peace, wrote Lippmann, usually means "maintenance of the status quo." Today it is the West, not the U. S. S. R., which is trying to change the status quo. But the stalemate cannot be altered by speeches, or by appeals to world opinion which "is unlikely to back us strongly." Therefore, the Administration must "come down from the clouds" and prepare the country for negotiation, "another name for giving something for something and trying to strike a mutually profitable bargain."

Far from preparing the country for bargaining, Washington seems bent on further confusing public opinion and postponing real negotiations. This is demonstrated by its stand on disarmament in the UN subcommittee meetings which began Aug. 29.

The Chicago Atomic Scientists, commenting on the UN committee's first sessions, deplored its concentration on the President's Geneva-raised inspection proposals and the lack of attention given

> ". . . the extra-ordinary agreement . . . achieved by the participating powers [at the London meetings recessed May 10] . . . upon ultimate levels of conventional arms and armed forces, on most aspects of timing and on the need for elimination of nuclear weapons sometime near, or at completion, of proposed reductions in conventional arms and forces. . . ."

PENTAGON ALARM: The committee's preoccupation with the President's inspection proposal was not accidental. The "extra - ordinary agreement" reached last May resulted from sweeping Soviet concessions which amounted to acceptance of virtually all key points in the Western disarmament plan. These concessions were hailed at the UN, in Western Europe, in Asia, as making disarmament a real—even a relatively imminent—prospect. But in Washington, particularly in the Pentagon, this prospect produced "the liveliest alarm" and "an intra-governmental wrangle" over what to do about it (Joseph Alsop, 8/28 & 29).

The wrangle was resolved by "the rather simple expedient of shoving the real issue [disarmament] under the rug or at least off the conference table" (Alsop), and substituting for it the President's dramatic inspection plan. Alsop emphasized that "what the Russians want . . . is . . . . actual disarmament" while what the President and Harold Stassen, his representative at the UN subcommittee, have been talking about "is not disarmament" but simply "inspection."

BALANCE OF ARMS: Nor, under the U. S. plan, is disarmament to follow acceptance of its inspection scheme. Disarmament has become a distant goal, while the inspection plan is to be applied in long drawn-out stages. The Western approach was defined by France's Jules Moch in these terms:

> "In contrast with the idea of a completely evolved system, covering all fields of disarmament in rigidly predetermined order, we have, then, the concept of a small-scale pilot scheme, designed to prove the possibility of practical achievements."

Moch neglected to point out that the "completely evolved system" which the West now rejects was originally its own, pushed with vigor by Britain and France until the U. S. S. R. accepted it. The West's goal, said **Newsweek** (9/5) is not disarmament but

> ". . . to preserve the power of massive retaliation. This could be done by the aerial inspection plan which the U. S. proposed at Geneva."

Lippmann (9/1) explained the theory behind the U. S.'s "new 'disarmament' plan." Under it, he wrote, "we are addressing ourselves not to abolition or even the reduction of arms" but to a "balance of armaments." What then is to prevent use of modern (nuclear, thermonuclear, mass-destruction) weapons? The capacity of the other side "to retaliate." The inspection scheme is necessary since without "forewarning" there can be no "retaliation."

A "SIMPLE" STRATEGY: The "balance of power" approach to armaments is not "new" but as old as the system of modern states. Hans J. Morgenthau pointed out (**Politics Among Nations, 1954**) that "most of the wars that have been fought since the beginning of the modern state system have their origin in the balance of power."

The President's proposal thus turns out to be a rather elaborate screen behind which to continue the build-up of nuclear arms and to maintain the policy of massive retaliation. Western comment has emphasized that Washington is quite sure Moscow will not accept the plan. "American strategy is simple," said **CSM** (8/30):

> "It is to secure approval of the program from all countries outside the Soviet bloc and thus focus world attention—and disapproval—on the single remaining holdout. It is taken for granted behind the scenes that the Kremlin will hold out. For it to accept would require nothing short of a revolutionary change in policy and outlook. . . . The least the U. S. stands to gain from such an effort is a propaganda victory of considerable proportions."

At the conclusion of the first week of disarmament talks, the U. S. S. R.'s Sobolev asked the West a series of questions designed to determine if it still accepted the agreements reached last May in London. The West will feel probably unable openly to reject the earlier agreement. But it is clear that, if Washington has its way, disarmament and control of nuclear weapons are further away than ever.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE—FROM LONDON

British relieved to learn they never did hate Russia

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

ON THE DAY I write this the **Daily Mail**, Tory-line mass-circulation paper, carries these stories: (1) Under three-column head on page one, British Overseas Airways' proposal to establish a London-Moscow-Peking-Hong Kong-Tokyo line; and covering half the news space on the featured centre-fold page, (2) Soviet Ambassador Malik's "day of triumph" as official guest of Harrogate, the British seaside resort, and (3) the Soviet Science Academy's invitation to British cosmic-ray expert Dr. Cecil Powell to "take a team to Russia and join in high altitude balloon tests near the North Pole."

The same paper carries just three stories from the U.S., none of them featured, all of them occupying less space than the one about Malik exchanging peace roses for Harrogate dahlias with the mayor and mayoress.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Welcome, friend—put 'er there."

There is a profile of U.S. satellite-launcher Dr. Bronk. Mrs. Luce gets nine lines for being asked to explain why she banned a U.S. juvenile-delinquency film at the Venice festival. The third is a rank State Dept. dope story "interpreting" the Soviet attitude in the disarmament-control talks as "a grave setback to the 'Geneva spirit.'"

COLD AND DEAD: That gives you some idea of the public political atmosphere in this Britain to which I have been re-shipped FOB. The cold war dies slowly and raucously in the U.S., but here the body already looks very dead. London is plastered with gay competition posters put out by one mass-circulation daily: "VISIT RUSSIA FREE!" Everyone seems deeply relieved to forget the cold-war nonsense and return to the friendly attitude toward Russia of the Grand Alliance years.

All seem to realize overnight that they never did really hate Russia: they were just told that they did so continuously that a thin top layer of their minds accepted it. They are pleased when I tell them that the same is true of the American people, although the information media are making the change of climate much slower and harder in the U.S.

THEY DO CARE: As for what is happening day by day in the U.S.—always excluding Hollywood—the British people know very little indeed about it; and if the press reads their minds correctly, they do not much care. Yet a few days of talking with all sorts and conditions have convinced me that they do care very much—when they are told—about what is still happening to basic civil liberties as conceived here. Britain, after all, has for years been militarily occupied and politically and economically tied to the U.S.

The British are still very slow—though they are moving—to extend their own civil liberties standards to a Kenya, a Malaya, a Cyprus. But in their own bailiwick they are very concerned about legality, and in the present world setting they cannot easily shut their eyes to blatant illegalities in the "senior partner" nation of the West.

WHAT THEY SAY: The information media hardly report these illegalities because, obviously, it embarrasses the British ruling class to have them known. Thus few people here have heard of, and fewer know what is now happening to Harvey Matusow. They are astounded to learn that the jailing of Americans for their politics, and even for helping others in political "trouble," shows no sign of relenting in the new world atmosphere. The charge of "conspiracy to advocate the overthrow" hits their incredulous ears like the pure gibberish that it is. The witch-hunt committees' methods leave them appalled. These are typical reactions:

- "But how can such things be allowed in a country that calls itself civilized? If they tried that here, people would protest and stop it."
- "We thought the Americans had put old Joe in his place and McCarthyism was finished. We thought Ike had called off the cold war. Other chaps we meet from America don't seem to know about what you tell us."

WHAT TEETH ARE FOR: "People would protest and stop it"—yes, I think they would and could. The clash of British domestic politics is muted just now, partly perhaps because the vaster movements in the world—in which the British feel they are cast for a major role without being quite sure what it is—hold the spotlight of attention. But the people's organizations with political teeth are there, and the teeth can be effective when the people insist that they be used. It is a rueful business to explain here that for the moment, in the U.S., groups with any substantial political weight for civil liberties hardly exist.

The chief difficulty, for your exile who tells the truth here about official illegalities and persecutions in the U.S., is to convince his hearers that Americans are not hopeless barbarians; that despite the hibernation of so many social consciences, Americans are on the contrary wonderful people with whom it can and should be a pleasure to associate.

A JOB FOR EXILES: That is one part of a job that badly needs doing. On the one hand, the British concern about civil liberties is of great potential importance to America's persecuted classes as long as the West remains an entity which must move as one or fall apart. The weapon of British public opinion may seem very far away from the hand that should be grasping it, but distance is an out-of-date concept.

On the other hand, such is British ignorance about America (they take a dim view of the picture of it implied by the behavior of many exported GI's) that the traditional good is almost as unknown as the present evil.

There are not a few political exiles from America here. They cannot obtain recognition as such, and mostly cannot take jobs, so their status is as uncertain as their economy. But if they want to go home to a better America, they need not find time hanging heavy on their hands in a Britain sadly in need of frank-speaking American missionaries.

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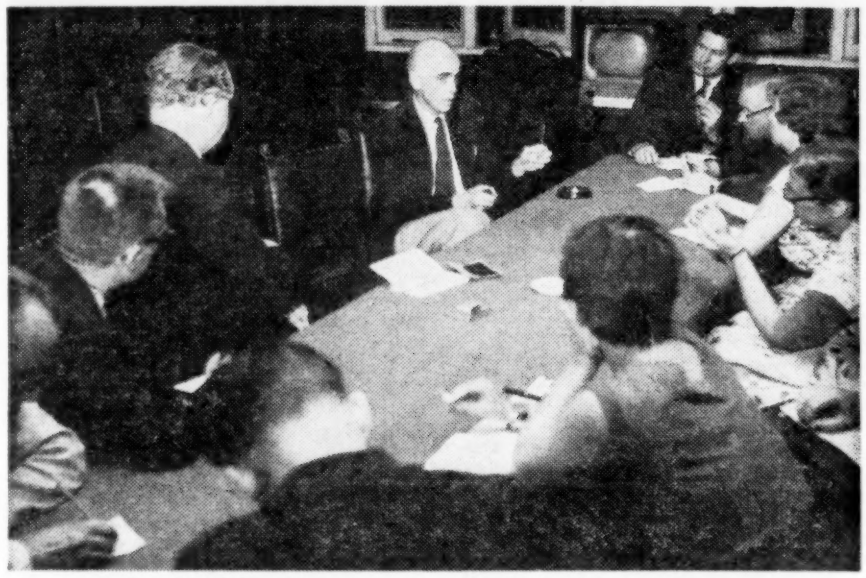

THE BELFRAGE PRESS CONFERENCE IN LONDON

THE GUARDIAN's editor-in-exile Cedric Belfrage and his wife, Dr. Josephine Belfrage, reached Southampton, England, on Aug. 23 and were surrounded by British newsmen when they reached London. The Belfrages made similar news copy when their ship, the S. S. Nieuw Amsterdam, docked at Cobh, Ireland. Belfrage said at a London press conference:

"I hope to go back to America. I have considerable warmth for the country. I like living there in spite of everything. Though some frightful things are happening in America, they do not affect my overall affection for the country."

On U.S. conditions, Belfrage said:

'I know that in Britain there is still a feeling of horror at the idea that any person should be imprisoned for his beliefs or that any man or woman should be refused freedom of expression. But in America there is no longer any such feeling. People all over the country are being imprisoned or economically victimized for their opinions."

On his own politics:

"I have publicly stated that I am not a communist, but I have always maintained that I have a perfect right to be one if I so desire. I stand for freedom of expression. And some of the finest people I know in America are Communists now jailed for their opinions."

Some of the British press featured Belfrage's comment that the average prisoner in a U.S. jail eats better than the average free Briton, but no paper heckled Belfrage. The biggest play the Belfrage story got was in the conservative Manchester **Guardian** and the London **Daily Worker.**

The Manchester **Guardian** headed its story: "Mr. Cedric Belfrage Arrives in Britain—Prison Experiences in America."

The London **Daily Worker:** "Help U.S. people win freedom—Belfrage."

Ring That Bell!

A NEW POLITICAL REVUE, **Ring That Bell,** sponsored by the GUARDIAN and produced by the Field Theater of the California Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions will open at the Danish Auditorium, 1359 W. 24 St., Los Angeles Sept. 16.

Ring That Bell is the third such revue produced by the GUARDIAN and the ASP group. **Courage Is Contagious** and **State of the Nation** were both smash hits and have stirred West Coast excitement in a fresh revival of political satire.

The revue will run on Friday and Saturday nights from Sept. 16 through Oct. 8, then move to San Francisco for engagements on Nov. 26 and 27.

Tickets for the Los Angeles run are $1.50 and may be ordered from the GUARDIAN's L. A. representative, Tiba Willner, 949 Schumacher Dr.; tels: WEbster 1-9478 and 6-5866.

The Landy Case

(A.D. 1600)

Duke Frederick: You, cousin.
Within these 10 days if that thou be'st found
So near our public court as 20 miles,
Thou diest for it.

Rosalind. I do beseech your Grace.
Let me the knowledge of my fault bear with me . . .
Never so much as in a thought unborn
Did I offend your Highness.

Duke Frederick. Thus do all traitors.
If their purgation did consist in words,
They are as innocent as grace itself.
Let it suffice thee that I trust thee not.

Rosalind. Yet your mistrust cannot make me a traitor. Tell me whereon the likelihood depends.

Duke Frederick. Thou art thy father's daughter; There's enough.

Rosalind . . . Treason is not inherited, my lord.

—Act I, Scene II of As you Like It, by William Shakespeare.

—From the Washington **Post & Times Herald,** Aug. 25.

Herblock in Washington Post

"And if I may say so, I've never been good to my mother."

PETITION SIGNERS INTIMIDATED

Action on integration taken by 11 of 17 Southern states as school year opens

THE NAACP last week published results of a school survey of progress in desegregation to date. It came just as schools throughout the nation were opening. Jimcrow public schools were outlawed by the U. S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, but officials in many affected areas refused to act without specific directives. The court last May 31 ordered "deliberate speed" in desegregation. It left specific details to regional Federal courts.

The survey shows that of 17 Southern states which had enforced segregation by law, 11 have "taken positive action" to desegregate. They are Kentucky, N. Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, W. Virginia and Texas. The Dist. of Columbia also acted.

Last July the Federal courts in the Clarendon County, S. C., and Prince Edward County, Va., cases refused the school boards permission to operate through 1955-56 on a jimcrow basis; but they also said in effect: "You do not have to desegregate by this September." Both cases were among those upon which the Supreme Court based its original decision. Petitions for desegregation were filed by the NAACP this summer in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

THE UNIVERSITIES: There was progress also in higher education. This month Oklahoma opened all state colleges and universities to Negroes. Tennessee pledged that beginning this month "gradual desegregation" would obtain in its six state colleges. Texas promised to open all branches of Texas University to Negroes in Sept., 1956. Texas Western College and all university graduate schools are enrolling Negroes now.

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"There are still a lot of diseases they have to find vaccines for . . . ignorance, bigotry, intolerance. . . ."

A Federal judge on July 1 ordered Alabama U. to admit all qualified applicants regardless of race or color. Louisiana U. on Aug. 23 was ordered to admit Negro undergraduates. Arkansas U. during the summer had its first mixed session. Maryland Teachers College desegregates this fall.

N. Carolina U. sociologist Guy B. Johnson told an American Sociological Society meeting Sept. 1 that the South had undergone "a quiet revolution" in already integrating more than 1,000 Negro students in more than 100 formerly all-white public and private colleges.

THE HOLD-OUTS: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and S. Carolina have made no move to desegregate public schools. Georgia's Gov. Griffin recently appointed 15 lawyers as deputy attorneys general to find new ways to evade the Supreme Court order. A S. Carolina district school superintendent refused a registered letter from an NAACP branch containing a desegregation petition with parents' signatures. A Charleston, S. C., daily paper published petition signers' names, urged white readers to "study them carefully" and then to question the Negroes about their "motives." Members of the Santee, S. C., White Citizens Council intimidated 14 Negro parents into repudiating their signatures on NAACP petitions for desegregation. At Charleston, U. S. Judge Ashton H. Williams said:

> "This [NAACP] . . . appears to be a secret organization. Reports indicate that they will resort to any means to carry out their purposes. This organization, along with the Ku Klux Klan, are the real enemies of any progress in the school cases. It is my belief that no progress can be made unless and until both Klan and NAACP are wholly eliminated from the picture in S. Carolina. . . ."

That Man Again

We aren't sure whether it proves a lot or a little about the condition of America in the year 1955, but we can't resist passing on the arithmetic of a Gallup poll released last week.

This was the question:

If Franklin D. Roosevelt were alive today and running for a second term against Dwight D. Eisenhower, which candidate would you like to see win —Roosevelt or Eisenhower?

This was the response:

Roosevelt 52 per cent
Eisenhower 43 per cent
Undecided 5 per cent

As we said at the outset, men could spend a lot of time debating the meaning of these percentages. We think we'll just enjoy them, adding only the thought that Mr. Roosevelt's place in history seems to have survived a good many typewriter batterings.

N. Y. Post editorial, Aug. 31.

AFTER SEVEN YEARS IN PRISON

Mrs. Ingram and sons denied a parole

THE GEORGIA State Board of Pardons and Parole on Aug. 26 rejected petitions to release Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her sons Sammie, 21, and Wallace, 23. They have been in prison for seven years. Giving no reason for the rejection, Mrs. Rebecca Garrett, only woman member of the board, said the case would be considered again next August.

The Negro mother of 14 children, 12 living, was sentenced with her 14- and 16-year-old sons to life in Aug., 1948, for killing John Stratford, white, who, she said, attacked her with a gun because she refused to become his mistress. Delegations of Negro and white women from "Free-the-Ingrams" committees in New York, Georgia, California, Pennsylvania and Illinois have for several years gone annually to petition Georgia's governor.

Mrs. Maude White Katz, chairman of the Provisional Committee to Free the Ingrams, 750 Riverside Dr., N. Y. C., said the fight would go on.

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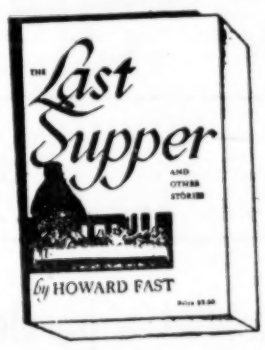
HOWARD FAST's

The Last Supper

In looking at a listing of the work of Howard Fast, you will note that his first novel, *The Children,* was written in 1935. His present book of short stories, THE LAST SUPPER, has just been published—thus closing a span of 20 years, a generation, an era of great events, titanic struggles, victories and defeats.

In a certain sense, Howard Fast has been a chronicler of this period, not in a day by day narration, but as one who has responded to the moments of deep crisis and desperate struggle—to give hope and perspective and meaning to the lives we led. Always, in those moments when they seemed so desperately needed, there appeared one of his books, *The Last Frontier, The Unvanquished, Citizen Tom Paine, Freedom Road, The American, Spartacus, My Glorious Brothers* —and so many others.



Similarly, in this time, when the horizon is filled with a mixture of hope and fear, he has again produced a book for the times, a collection of short stories unique in present day American writing.

And quite properly, it is called The LAST SUPPER, for it is a book about good men and about evil men, about brave men and traitors, about heroes and renegades.

It is a book about Judas, for Judas is part of this time we have just lived through; and it is also a book about those who spurn and despise all Judas stands for. It is a book which is concerned with the finest traditions of America, and with the people who uphold or traduce those traditions today.

THE LAST SUPPER is a collection of fifteen short stories, as follows:

THE LAST SUPPER, which tells of the Un-American Committee and of a writer.
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THE VISION OF HENRY J. BAXTER, which tells of a millionaire who built an atom-bomb shelter.
A WALK HOME, which tells of a worker who walked home with two agents of the Department of Justice.
COCA COLA, which tells a tale of a beverage not unidentified with the American way of life.
CHRIST IN CUERNAVACA, which tells the tale of a poor Mexican who looked like Jesus Christ.
THE POWER OF POSITIVE THINKING, which tells of an executive who held conversations with God at night.
DIGNITY, which tells a tale of prison and a man's dignity.
GENTLEMAN FROM MISSISSIPPI, which details some of the intimate life of a Congressman.
JOURNEY TO BOSTON, which tells how an old farmer and veteran went to the funeral of Sam Adams, in an America which had already betrayed the principles he fought for.
THE CHILD AND THE SHIP, another story of Sam Adams, and of a grim and awful ship that sailed into Boston Harbor.
SUNDAY MORNING, which tells of a political prisoner who suffers from insomnia.
THE UPRAISED PINION, which tells of an editor who decided to co-operate with the F. B. I.
THE HOLY CHILD, a Christmas story for workers and their children.
MY FATHER, which tells the story of a working man.

The fifteen stories have been gathered together in the new Howard Fast book. Each one of Mr. Fast's books has been an event of consequence and importance. You will want to read and own THE LAST SUPPER.

THE LAST SUPPER has been published in both a cloth and a paper edition. For this reason, it will not be a book club selection, for the paper edition is priced at only two dollars. The cloth edition is three dollars. In both cases, we are ready to absorb the cost of packing and mailing. If you fill in the coupon below, the book will be sent to you immediately.

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CALENDAR

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Chicago

DR. HARRY F. WARD on "Geneva and the New World Situation." Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, Fri., Sept. 30, 8:15 p.m. Adm. $1. Tickets from Chicago Council American-Soviet Friendship, 189 W. Madison.

FILMS ON SOVIET AGRICULTURE. First Chicago showing, Wed., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. Mittleman Center, 2733 W. Hirsch. Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

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AIR DEFENCE INDENTIFICATION ZONES, U. S. A. Documents, too hot for any publication, prove why plane incidents don't occur near U.S.A. 25c. Peacedom Digest, 6327 May, Chicago 21, Ill.

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Argentina story

(Continued from Page 1)

He called, not for blood, but for "serenity," and praised the Army. Throughout the summer he carried out what seemed to be terms of surrender. He announced that his own Peronista "revolution" had ended and resigned as leader of the Peronista Party. He purged his government and the CGT of officeholders but all those purged were his staunchest supporters.

He allowed opposition speakers on the air, restored amicable relations with the Church and called again and again for "pacification." Argentines began to take the "liberalization" program seriously, demanded that "the state of internal warfare," clamped down since 1952, be lifted; called for amnesty for political prisoners and trade unionists imprisoned without trial or even charges in the Villa De Voto Prison, and an end to the Seccion Especial, Perons' brutal secret police.

MURDER PLOT: When Dr. Juan Ingalinella, Communist Party and peace movement leader of Rosario, died under "questioning" and was tossed by police into a river, protest swept the nation and forced Peron, for the first time, to promise prosecution of the offending officers.

Above all, protests came from all quarters against the give-away contract with the U.S. oil companies, principally Standard Oil of California. This would turn loose the U.S. oil companies in Argentina's rich lands, without controls and with minimum taxes

Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"He was bound to crack up. His whole appeal as a newscaster was based on gloom and doom. And with the Reds throwing kisses to everybody, well . . ."

under a high-riding contract subject to cancellation on short notice by the company, but impossible for Argentina to cancel without the most prohibitive penalties.

The terms of the deal were so outrageous that not even the Peronista Congress has yet dared to ratify them. The flood-tide of protest swelled into the open. Peronistas openly demanded that something be done to halt inflation. In August the pro-government weekly, **Economia y Finanzas**, warned that soaring prices would lead to "a world of ruin and disaster."

THE ARMY'S PAL: The pampas were being concentrated ever more tightly into the hands of the "oligarchy" whom Peron pretended to battle, so that this year 1.5% of the cattle farmers own 43.1% of the cattle. The landless continue to live under semi-feudal conditions, near starvation and steadily drifting to the cities.

In the ferment the Peronista machinery, despite the best efforts of Peron, was not being dismantled. The General Confederation of Labor, though shunned by Peron, its leadership reshuffled, continued intact with 6,000,000 members. (Argentina's total population is 16,000,000.)

Peron made it plain that he was not only divorcing himself from the "shirtless" ones but that he had taken up housekeeping with the Generals. In all public appearances in July and August, Army men were at his side. The Plaza de Mayo saw few demonstrations. U.S. newsmen wrote that "mob rule" was ending. Some saw Peron as a prisoner of the Army, but the French left-socialist monthly, **Cahiers Internationaux,** wrote:

> "All this is happening not because Peron is . . . an Argentine Naguib, as he has been presented, but because Peron, himself the product of a military coup, prefers an alliance with the army to one with the workers who, although they saved him in Oct., 1945, will now make some substantial demands."

THE BIG JOB: The Army and Peron had this problem: how to curb the runaway Peronista movement which last year showed alarming signs of tossing its own leaders overboard in strikes, and which now refused to be dismantled. The regime would have to act swiftly to avert a move to the left, to guarantee the oil delivery and the continued good will of U.S. investors who were demanding "stability."

Last week Peron suddenly offered to resign. He made his offer not to Congress but to the Peronista Party, and the machinery was geared for a thunderous rejection. The CGT mobilized thousands to stay in the Plazo de Mayo "until Peron withdraws his resignation." When they were gathered he withdrew his offer and issued his call for blood-in-the-streets. This time no Army man stood by him. To all appearances he was alone again with his shirtless.

The crowd heard him and dispersed. Though Buenos Aires was calm, a "state of siege" was imposed. The nation waited expectantly.

None knew for certain what lay behind the maneuver; but if the Army wanted an excuse for smashing the workers' movement, and dismantling the Peronista machinery—not piecemeal but at one blow—it had it now. It could point to Peron's unprecedented call for bloodshed, pose as the restorer of peace and so impose its own dictatorship.

The question was: did Peron, certainly the most Machiavellian dictator in Latin America, plan it that way?

Nor any other sense

. . . There is no military sense in storing up more plutonium than would be necessary to blow up the world.

—N.Y. Times in a report from Geneva conference

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) Sept. 10: **"DEATH OF A SALESMAN"**—film version of the Arthur Miller play with Frederic March as Willie Loman and Mildred Dunnock (of the Broadway cast). Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm.: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"THE TITFIELD THUNDERBOLT."**

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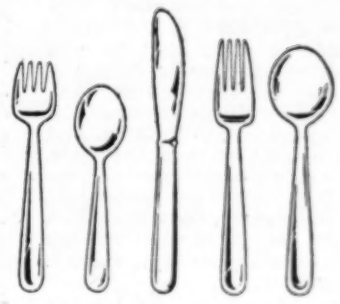

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the SPECTATOR

Why Papa Goldberg died

A WOMAN I KNOW used to wonder how they managed to place a microphone under the kitchen table to pick up the intimate family life of the Goldbergs. She—and half the nation, it seems—listened in on that family's nightly radio doings, not as spectators at a performance but as sympathetic eavesdroppers. I do not know whether my friend knows what has happened to Papa Goldberg.

Papa was Philip Loeb, who was also a distinguished actor on Broadway and in Hollywood. More than that, in the late '30's and '40's Philip Loeb fought the mossbacks in his union, Actors' Equity. In 1946 he was elected by a rank-and-file movement to the Council.

THE DOSSIER GROWS: He was a New Deal product, battling for FDR visions in the theater and out. While he was battling, a dossier was piling up. In 1950 **Red Channels,** the blacklisting agency, listed 17 charges against Papa Goldberg:

He was said to have sponsored the "End Jimcrow in Baseball Committee"; signed petitions to discontinue the Dies Committee; backed the "Artists' Front to Win the War"; belonged to the Non-Partisan Committee for Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio; spoke (by recording) at a Stop-Censorship meeting; entertained for the Negro Labor Victory Committee.

Red Channels didn't mention his career in Equity though clearly it was his union work that most rankled the hounds.

Philip Loeb's past caught up with him on Jan. 8, 1952: he was dropped from the cast of the Goldbergs. Mrs. Gertrude Berg (Mama Goldberg), creator of the program, said she was sorry; she believed Loeb was not a communist but she could not find a sponsor for the show if he stayed.

WHO'S TO JUDGE? Loeb said then that no sponsor had said he was a communist—just that he was "controversial" and that **Red Channels** had made him so. No one had accused him directly of anything. The Vitamin Corp. of America took over as sponsor and passed the buck to the networks. Vitamin's head said:

"The show would certainly be a lot better with him in it. But I don't want to be the judge of some other man's guilt or innocence."

Loeb tried to fight back. In the end he had to accept a cash settlement from the Goldberg family and acidly called it "alimony." When he spoke to a meeting of the TV Authority (the TV union which had supported his fight), he wept. Though the settlement meant $85,000 to him, he called it "a victory for the blacklist."

BLACKLIST—DEATH LIST: Philip Loeb always insisted that he was never a communist. He answered questions as politely as he could before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. He let them call him "dupe," said that the Korean War had changed his views about some of his activities, but still he would name no names. The witch-hunters were not satisfied.

They had not been satisfied with others and the blacklist had become an obituary column: Mady Christians, Canada Lee, John Garfield, Joe Bromberg, Roman Bohnen had all died with the witch-hunters baying them to the grave.

Philip Loeb had few bookings in the 2½ years since the Goldbergs. Last February he appeared in an off-Broadway production of Chekhov's **Three Sisters.**

On Wednesday, Aug. 31, Philip Loeb checked in at New York's Taft Hotel under the name of Fred Lang. On Thursday evening he was found dead from an overdose of sleeping pills. On the door of the tormented man's room hung a small placard: "Do not disturb."

—Elmer Bendiner